/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. ●844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs [845] and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

[846] The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

[12 cont.]

843 262 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bushbuck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

●844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut. [553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 [177] At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ǂhaiba, //am ǂhaiba (?)

[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 422 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 [184] [462] [657] [233] The gathering of veldkost does not have the great significance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main OCCUPATION.

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
● 844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
002

!KUNG

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:
1

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

861 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood
[124] or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

!KUNG

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

● 844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The [845] woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

≠AUIN
NOGAU
NARON

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

844 Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

845 Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of them is killed.

[553] 844 Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name. There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband [833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat 262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui). [114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's 524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts [481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Concerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports: 524

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [849] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. 846 In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted [845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among [553] the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names, [551] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

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belly was flatter, and a tiny foot with a pink sole and curled toes stuck out from her kaross.

Day or night, whether or not the bush is dangerous with lions or with spirits of the dead, Bushman women give birth alone, crouching out in the veld somewhere. A woman will not tell anybody where she is going or ask anybody's help because it is the law of Bushmen never to do so, unless a girl is bearing her first child, in which case her mother may help her, or unless the birth is extremely difficult, in which case a woman may ask the help of her mother or another woman. The young woman was only fifty feet from the werf when she bore her daughter, but no one heard her because it is their law that a woman in labor may clench her teeth, may let her tears come or bite her hands until blood flows, but she may never cry out to show her agony. Bushmen say a woman must never show that she is afriad of pain or childbirth, and that is why a woman goes alone, or why a young girl goes only with her mother, for then if she shows her pain and fear, only her mother will know.

When labor starts, the woman does not say what is happening, but lies down quietly in the werf, her face arranged to show nothing, and waits until the pains are very strong and very close together, though not so strong that she will be unable to walk, and then she goes by herself to the veld, to a place she may have chosen ahead of time and perhaps prepared with a bed of grass. If she has not prepared a place, she gathers what grass she can find and, making a little mound of it, crouches above it so that the baby is born onto something soft. Unless the birth is very arduous and someone else is with the woman, the baby is not helped out or pulled, and when it comes the woman saws its cord off with a stick

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and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child acquires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control, although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life; it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the person born with certain forces in the world around him: with weather, with childbearing, with the great game antelope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*.

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain (if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young son was living not with her but far away with the family of his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

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sure, was dead. At last a visitor came from her son's band who assured her that her son was safe and well, and she knew then that the storm was not for his *now*, loose in the air, but possibly for the *now* of someone else, though when she heard the news it did not matter to her who might have died, for she was happy.

The effect of *now* is simple when a person dies, or when a person burns his hair or urinates to change the weather. With childbearing for women and with killing the great antelope for men (as the great antelope also have *now*, although the small ones do not) the *now* has a larger, more complex effect. In these cases the *now* of the hunter interacts with the *now* of the antelope, the *now* of the woman interacts with the *now* of the child newly born, and when the blood of the antelope falls upon the ground as the antelope is killed, when the fluid of the womb falls upon the ground at the child's birth, the interaction of *nows* takes place, and this brings a change in the weather. In this way a mother may bring rain or drought when she bears a child, a hunter may bring rain or drought when he kills an antelope, no matter what kind of *now* the mother or the hunter may have. The mother or the hunter can only watch the weather to see what has taken place.

Now is intangible, mystic, and diffuse, and Bushmen themselves do not fully understand its workings. They do not know how or why *now* changes weather but only that it does. They watch the changes carefully, though, and by observing have discovered the limits of their own *nows*. When the fluid from a mother's womb falls upon the ground the child's *now* is determined, and it is partly for this reason that birth is such a mighty thing.

Birth is usually joyous. Bushmen of all ages adore their children and grandchildren, placing a child's health and

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wishes uppermost in their minds. Orphans are eagerly adopted by their aunts or grandparents, and a newborn baby is welcomed as though it were the first baby the werf had ever seen. Sometimes, though, a baby is born that cannot be supported, and if this happens the baby is destroyed. If a woman bears a child that is crippled or badly deformed, she is expected to destroy it, and if the season is very hard and she already has a baby under a year old depending on her milk, she is forced to kill her newborn child. Bushman women can hardly bear this, but they do.

If a woman knows that she must kill her baby, she braces herself for this as best she can, and when the time comes to do it she must act immediately, must take advantage of the moment after birth before the infant has "come to life," that moment between the time the baby is born and the time her love for the baby wells up in her so that the act would be impossible forever after. She must think of the child she has already and act quickly, before she hears her infant's voice, before the baby moves or waves its feet; she must not look at it for long or hold it, but must have a shallow grave ready for it and must put it in at once and cover it and never think of it again. In times of extreme deprivation she can do this, or she can wait to watch both her children die. All this is very hard, and Bushmen, who have no mechanical form of contraception and know no way to cause miscarriage or abortion, prefer to abstain from intercourse for long periods rather than to suffer such pain.

We knew one woman who had been forced to destroy a baby to save an older child, and we knew one woman who had borne a crippled child and had been persuaded to destroy it by her mother, who had been present at the birth. Such things are very rare, though, and this is fortunate.

. . .

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844 When the young woman came back to the werf with her baby she sat down and calmly washed the blood from her legs with water from an ostrich eggshell. Then she lay on her side to rest with her baby beside her, and covered the baby from the sun with a corner of her kaross. She put her nipple in the baby's mouth and let her try to nurse. The young woman still said nothing to anyone, but she did open her kaross to show the baby, and one by one we all came by to look at her, and she was not brown, not gold, but pink as a pink rose, and her head was shaped perfectly. At the bottom of her spine was a Mongolian Spot, dark and triangular, and her hair, which she shed later, was finely curled and soft as eider down.

[142]

The father had been away, but he came home a little later and sat stolidly down on the man's side of the fire, his hands on his knees. He pronounced the baby's name softly to himself. Later, when he had no audience, he slipped his finger into the baby's hand. Of course the baby grasped it strongly, and the father smiled.

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
123 the way (Strychnos [illegible]inosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
• 844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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587 " after a certain length of time ", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, " Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753] [846]

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 504.

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] [755] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] [847] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the 847 Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

171 551 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable [862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save [163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the [844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among [184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

[165] In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.